

—Jackson

To the Freedmen of Indiana.

Two weeks ago we addressed you on the then perilous condition of public affairs, and invoked your attention and judgment on the measures of public policy inaugurated by the Republican President and Congress. As your fellow citizens, and as members of the Democratic Central Committee of Indiana, we endeavored to give you, in that Address, some of the reasons why a change should be made in the Congressional representation, in the General Assembly, and in the offices connected with the State Administration. That appeal was decided on the 14th day of October, instant, and we trust in a manner which will conduce to the general interest of the people of the United States.

The Democratic Central Committee have now the pleasure of announcing, in this formal manner, that the Democratic and conservative citizens of Indiana have delivered a unanimous verdict in the recent election. The extent of this victory appears in the election of seven Democratic members of Congress, instead of four as in the present Congress; in the election of a Democratic majority in both branches of the Legislature, and in the election of the State officers, viz: Secretary, Auditor, Treasurer, Attorney General, Recorder of Supreme Court, and Superintendent of Public Instruction, by majorities averaging about ten thousand.

The ultra Republicans in the present Congress are nearly all beaten, or laid aside by their friends, and none but Union and Colfax return to vindicate their votes for the Abolition policy of their confederates in the present House. This is an indication that should not be lost on those who yet defy the sentiments of the white race on this continent, and who are daring enough to set that sentiment at naught.

We have a clear and decided majority of the Legislature, and will elect a Democratic Union Senator to Congress in the place of Joseph A. Wright, who holds a commission from Governor Morton for that place, and one to succeed him for six years.

In every sense this victory is complete. It is overwhelming against the conduct of Mr. Lincoln's Administration, in reference to emancipation, and a noble vindication of the Constitution against the actions of the unlawful Congress, which will cease to exist on the 4th day of March next. Indiana places the seal of her disapprobation upon every act of these political Abolitionists, and holds up our glorious Constitution as a shield and protection of her people. Whatever else may happen, there can be no mistaking her attitude, and no fear of her taking a backward step in this great crisis.

There are persons in this State who are now seeking, for party purposes, to misrepresent the significance of the victory recently achieved by the Democratic party over the advocates of the Administration of President Lincoln.

They assert that the defeat of the Republican party in Indiana may be justly attributed to the growth of a sentiment in this State favorable to a dishonorable peace with the South, and that the Democratic in Congress vote against all appropriations to sustain the army in the field and the navy on the ocean. This has been whispered in certain private circles, and proclaimed in the tolerant Abolition press, which is endeavoring to prejudice the conduct, aims, and designs of those who stand in the way of their schemes for the universal emancipation of the negroes of the South. There is no person in the Democratic party who is guilty of such a disloyal practice.

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The party now in power, had been true to their pledges, would never have interfered with the domestic institutions of the Southern States, as a reference to the Declaration of President Lincoln and the Republican platform will abundantly and conclusively show. They carefully withheld from public view the policy of a general emancipation of the slaves on the pretext that slavery was the cause of the war, and that it was necessary to preserve and defend our constitutional union, as embodied in the field. So far from making an avowal so calculated to "discourage" enlistments, the "policy" of Indiana, as well as the 10th day of February, 1862, three weeks before the inauguration of President Lincoln, by a vote of 115 to 4, adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That neither the Federal Government nor the people or governments of non-slaveholding States, have a purpose or a constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the States of the Union.

Resolved, That those persons in the North who do not subscribe to the foregoing proposition are *too insignificant in numbers and influence* to excite the serious attention of any portion of the people of the Republic. Their increase of their numbers and influence does not keep pace with the increase of the aggregate population of the Union.

Nothing could be more plain and emphatic than these resolutions. They were well calculated to satisfy the doubts of conservative men in the North, and to ally the apprehensions of loyal men in the South, and to induce the leaders of the Republican party in respect to the institutions, State and National, of both classes of States. Nor did the alteration, which was subsequently adopted in the first of these resolutions, in respect to the influence of the non-slaveholders, do more than to make it more conspicuously subscribe to the second, at all impair the force of the solemn pledge given to the nation against converting the impending conflict to subvert the Declaration of Independence.

That resolution, which was adopted by the unanimous vote of the members present (161 yeas), is in these words: "Resolved, That neither Congress, nor the people, nor the governments of non-slaveholding States, have a purpose or a constitutional right to legislate upon or interfere with slavery in any of the States of the Union."

So much for the action of the Republicans in Congress, in respect to the subject of slavery.

The installation of their party into power in every department of the General Government. Their chosen standard bearer in the sectional contest initiated by the Republican party, was a man whose explicit and emphatic disavowal of any interference in authority whatever of any interference, on his part, with the unquestioned constitutional rights of the southern people to control, in their own way, the institution of slavery, was assumed the Executive functions on the 4th of March, 1861, after taking his oath that he would, to the best of his ability, "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Mr. Lincoln declared, in the presence of the assembled thousands before him, as follows: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

He said (and who should know better?) that he had neither "the lawful right," nor "the inclination" to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists, *directly or indirectly*. Not satisfied with this disclaimer of power over the subject, the President thus proceeds to give his reasons for his convictions, which, it would seem, were not the result of sudden impulse, but of opinions long entertained. He says:

"Those who nominated and elected me did so with the full knowledge that I had made this issue, and that I was bound to do so. They placed in the platform for my acceptance, and as a law to themselves and to me, the clear and emphatic resolution which I now read:

Resolved, That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions to its own judgment exclusive of the Congress, is essential to the maintenance of the perfect union and endurance of our political fabric."

From this it will be seen that he was a confederate of the faith that he proclaimed in his inaugural address, and that he was bound to do so. He was not "a man of many similar occasions," and had "never recanted them," and, in addition to his personal convictions, was pledged to them by one of the resolutions of the Chicago platform, which he has quoted and incorporated in his address, in order to disprove every apprehension that he could ever depart from the principle thus enunciated.

At the extra session of Congress commencing the 4th of July, 1861, that body, after the most ample discussion of the subject of slavery in the

States, passed, by an almost unanimous vote, a resolution introduced into the House by the venerable Crittenden of Kentucky, which not only fully sustained the doctrine of non-interference proclaimed by the President and the House of Representatives, but (ignoring the idea that the war was for abolition or emancipation,) declares in the plainest of terms, that the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the States unimpaired." But it is unnecessary to accumulate further evidence as to the original objects of the war, and the reasons for its continuance, by the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Government. The resolution, passed under such circumstances, is, in these words, and leave but little further to add:

Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the Unionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the constitutional government and in arms against the Union; that the American people, in emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion and resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not for the purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution and to preserve the Union, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

The Democratic party of Indiana are now, and have been, most willing to aid the President in putting down the rebellion by force of arms. They sought to secure the passage of the Proclamation. No good will come of it, and those men who advised and clamored for it are the worst foes of his administration and the direst enemies to the Union.

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Another Specimen.

Our Republican neighbor is striving very hard to convince itself that the Democracy carried the recent election in this State by frauds. Or else it is this pretense to let the party easily down from its overhanging defeat. It is a case of its fall. Men are trying in times like these. The sacred principles of constitutional freedom can never be abandoned to Presidents, Cabinets, Congresses, or political agitators, and for that reason, we become the tools of power, and forget that they were once free men, they sink into the insignificance of all other defenders of despotism and wrong. The unconquerable Democracy was not to be vanquished by instruments of like kind, and if the lesson which their overthrow shall teach to others shall be heeded, their fall will not be in vain.

This contest, at the end of which is a great and valued victory in favor of the Constitution and the laws, has been prosecuted by the Democrats and their noble allies, with the sword of Dantes suspended over their heads. The Administration has been in the field with all its vast resources and power, and to add to its success, it has been against us with its resources. Men against whom no indictment and no known charges are preferred, have been sent to the prison, and many yet languish in Government basins. Could anything be better calculated to arouse the people, on the one hand, and to crush the Administration, on the other? Every thing but actual force has been used to close up the avenues of investigation, to muzzle the press, and to overawe the citizen in the attempt to secure these high objects; and the whole atmosphere has been filled with rumors of arrests, with the movements of secret informers and spies, with threats, and, in some cases, with the execution of threats against the friends of the Union. The people have disdained these things, and the ballot box has been omnipotent.

The people of Indiana, at the recent election, have decided for themselves questions of the highest interest to the Nation. These questions were thoroughly discussed before them, and through many of the boldest issues were evaded by the Administration, and the result was a verdict overwhelmingly against it. We accept the following as the main points decided:

1. That the Constitution, American Union and the rights of the people are the basis of all good men to aid the Government in securing these blessings;

2. That men and money must be voted for the purposes of equipping and maintaining our soldiers in the field, and to secure these high objects; and when the war is closed the maimed and wounded soldiers shall be properly provided for by adequate pensions, and proper provisions for their families;

3. That the people of Indiana are utterly opposed to a war of conquest and subjugation of the Southern States, and that they will adhere to the principles of the Constitution, and that the "dignity, equality and rights" of the several States shall be maintained; and that when the supremacy of the Constitution is acknowledged by those in arms against it, the war ought to cease;

4. That the people of Indiana are unalterably opposed to the policy of the President and the Republican Congress, as indicated in their purchase of the Louisiana territory, in the case of the "dignity, equality and rights" of the several States shall be maintained; and that when the supremacy of the Constitution is acknowledged by those in arms against it, the war ought to cease;

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The New Federal Authority.

The Governors not satisfied with governing their own States seem determined to set Federal authority. Governor Yates, of Illinois, was here yesterday to join Governor Morton, on another mission to Washington. It is said, that Governor Yates, and another grand convention of Governors is to be held shortly. These Governors had better attend to their legitimate duties at home and let the representatives of the National Government run the Federal machinery. If they are not capable of doing it, let the people have a chance to select new men. These Governors' conventions are but another evidence of the incapacity of the Republican party to administer the Government.

Political Prisoners.

In the Government postoffice building in this city seventeen persons are confined for alleged political offenses. They were arrested upon affidavits made in some, if not all the cases, by partisan and personal enemies, upon which they are incarcerated in a prison for weeks and months, and have been granted the meager criminals in the land. Three of the prisoners have very comfortable quarters, but fourteen are confined in cells built for criminals. In one cell, a small room, nine are confined, and in a still smaller one are five. Neither of them have side windows, but light and air comes through a skylight in the roof. Here they eat, sleep and live, shut out from the world, and only permitted to see the light of heaven through the small opening in the roof. Under no circumstances are they permitted to leave their cells, and before the iron grated door of their prison house, securely fastened, armed sentries, day and night, watch them. One prisoner, who came here sound in body and mind, for some days was insane through the effects of his confinement. Who two years ago would have anticipated that such arrests would have been made? Who would have thought one year ago that the President would have brought all the people of the United States under martial law, to be administered at his own discretion, and that in our magnificent postoffice building, in a State loyal to the Government and in which the administration of the civil law has never been obstructed, seventeen of its citizens would be confined, deprived of all their civil rights?

One of the prisoners is Dr. THORNTON HORTON, of Wells County. He was arrested and brought here upon the charge of encouraging enlistments. Dr. H. is a good citizen. He has represented his county in the Legislature. His most intimate friends upon oath say they have never heard him express a sentiment disloyal to the Government, but on the other hand has often said that he would freely give up his life for his country, even his life, if those sacrifices would put down the rebellion. And the direct charge made against him, as is shown in the affidavit we publish with this, is disproved by some of the most trustworthy citizens of his county. Yet these evidences of his innocence do not release him. He can not get peace even from his friends. In the United States must remain with his fellow prisoners until the authorities at Washington dispose of them. The President may think that the public safety requires these extreme measures, but it gives a power to bad men which may be exercised, and which has been exercised, to injure the best citizens. Wherever civil law can not be administered, martial law may be necessary, but in Indiana